

CONSTANTINE AKROPOLITES

A Prosopographical Note

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CONSTANTINE Akropolites was a son of the statesman and historian George Akropolites who lived from 1217 to 1282. The Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos took an active interest in his upbringing and education; but Constantine, unlike his father, remained an outspoken opponent of Michael's policy of union with the Roman Church and of the efforts of the Patriarch John Bekkos to persuade the clergy and people of Constantinople that that policy was dogmatically acceptable.¹ Andronikos II appointed him Logothete τοῦ γενικοῦ, perhaps in 1282; and as such his name appears among the witnesses to the Byzantine treaty with Venice in June 1285.² But after the death of Theodore Mouzalon in 1294 he was raised to the dignity of Grand Logothete, holding this office at least until 1321, at which time he appears to have shared the title, if not the rank, with Theodore Metochites.³ His greatest claim to fame rests on

his literary output which was considerable and mainly hagiographical in content. His numerous versions of saints' lives earned for him, in later times if not in his own day, the name of *Neos Metaphrastes*. Many of these remain unedited, and by far the larger part of his extensive correspondence has still to be published.⁴ It has been stated that he married into the family of Cantacuzene, but this is a fallacy.

Such is the extent of the biographical information hitherto provided about Constantine Akropolites in the works of reference and editions of his writings.⁵ Some of those writings, however, and one surprisingly neglected item of iconographical evidence, provide some interesting additional facts about his family and career which seem not to have been collected or used by those concerned with the history of the period.

M. Treu showed him to be the brother of the monk Melchisedek Akropolites, to whom fourteen of the letters of Maximos Planoudes are addressed.⁶ Melchisedek was among those who helped to incite the *pinkernis* Alexios Tarchaniotes Philanthropenos to rebellion against Andronikos II in Asia Minor in 1296. Pachymeres describes him as "an uncle of Alexios' wife."⁷ Philanthropenos was also

¹ George Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, I (Bonn), pp. 495–6. The career of Constantine's father George, who was Grand Logothete under the Emperors Theodore II Laskaris and Michael VIII, is summarized by A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, II (Leipzig, 1903), pp. iii–xiii. Constantine calls himself "the first-born son" (see *infra*, p. 51); one Leon Akropolites, who could have been his brother, was Dux of the Theme of Serres and Strymon in November 1295. M. Goudas, *Βυζαντιὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἀθῶν ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, III (1926), no. 6, p. 132; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, IV (Munich, 1960), no. 2181.

² "... panseuasto seuasto familiari Imperij nostri logotheta de genico domino Constantino Acropolita." G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, III (Vienna, 1857), p. 339.

³ John Cantacuzene, *Historiae*, I (Bonn), pp. 67–8. Cf. H.-G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952), pp. 11, note 3; 14, note 3.

⁴ See *infra* for a provisional list of the writings of Constantine.

⁵ Brief biographical notices of Constantine are given by A. Ehrhard, in K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1897), pp. 204–5; M. Treu, *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae* (Breslau, 1890), pp. 248–50; M. Jugie, *Dictionnaire de géographie et d'histoire ecclésiastique*, I, pp. 375–7; H.-G. Beck, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1957), I, pp. 246–7; *id.*, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 698–9.

⁶ M. Treu, *Planudis Epistulae*, pp. 248–50.

⁷ Pachymeres, II (Bonn), p. 214, lines 12–13: "... ὁ Ἀκροπολίτης Μελχισεδέκ, θεῖος ὢν τῆς αὐτοῦ (Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ) γυναίκος ...

the friend of Planoudes, who congratulated him on the event of his marriage in a letter written in 1295.⁸ Shortly afterwards his wife's brother died at the tender age of fourteen, and from the letters which Planoudes wrote to him and to Melchisedek on this occasion it emerges that the boy's father, and consequently the father-in-law of Alexios Philanthropenos, was the Logothete τοῦ γενικοῦ, namely Constantine Akropolites.⁹ Constantine is therefore known to have had a daughter, not named by Planoudes, who married Alexios Philanthropenos, and a son who died in 1295. Philanthropenos was blinded in December 1296 when his revolt was suppressed and thereafter lived in retirement until restored to favor in 1323.¹⁰

⁸ Treu, *Planudis Epistulae*, no. 98, lines 84 ff., pp. 127-8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 90 and 94, pp. 114-17, 120-2. For the chronological sequence of these letters, see Treu, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹⁰ Two of Constantine's unpublished letters tell of his temporary banishment from Constantinople, perhaps to Thessalonica, and of his desire to return to the capital to stand trial and clear his name. This may suggest that he was implicated or suspected of implication in the conspiracy of Philanthropenos. See Cod. Ambros. H 81 Sup., Letters nos. 97, 98, fols. 307^r to 308^r. On the family of Philanthropenos, see Athenagoras, Metropolitan of Paramythia and Philiates, Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ οἴκου τῶν Φιλανθρωπηνῶν, Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἑθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, N. S., I (1929), pp. 61-74; V. Laurent, in *Echos d'Orient*, XXIX (1930), pp. 495-7, and XXXI (1932), pp. 177-81; St. Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic Paléologue," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVIII (1938), pp. 148-9; P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kuitlunus (Archives de l'Athos, II)*, Texte (Paris, 1946), p. 127. The rebellion of Alexios Philanthropenos and its suppression is described in detail by Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historiae Byzantinae*, I (Bonn), pp. 195-202 and Pachymeres, II (Bonn), pp. 210-29. Cf. R. Guillard, *Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris, 1927), pp. 372-4; H.-G. Beck, "Belisar-Philanthropenos. Das Belisar-Lied der Palaiologenzeit," *Serla Monacensia (Franz Babinger zum 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss dargebracht [Leiden, 1952])*, pp. 46-52; P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin. Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris, 1957), pp. 15, 87, note 1. It seems to have been as a thanksgiving for his deliverance from the rebel Philanthropenos that Andronikos II consecrated the month of August to the worship of the Virgin. See V. Grumel, "Le mois de Marie des Byzantins," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXI (1932), pp. 257-69.

The name of one of Constantine's daughters is provided by the first of two *Testaments* which he wrote with his own hand. In this document Constantine makes over all that he had inherited from his mother and from his father, the Grand Logothete, to his daughter Theodora. In addition he consigns to Theodora everything brought to him by his own wife as dowry from her father, who is said to have borne the ancient and honorable name of Tornikes and to have been descended from the line of the Komnenoi.¹¹ This statement may serve finally to dispel the myth formulated by Ch. Du Cange and perpetuated by A. Papadopoulos that Constantine Akropolites married the daughter of one Cantacuzene, a myth whose only foundation appears to be a misreading of a passage in the text of Pachymeres. Pachymeres clearly indicates that the daughter of Cantacuzene married not Constantine Akropolites but Theodore Mouzalon, the later Grand Logothete. The wife of Akropolites was a member of the Tornikes family.¹²

¹¹ Διαθήκη &c., ed. by M. Treu, Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἑθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, IV (1892), p. 48, 11.25-34.

¹² Ch. Du Cange, *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae* (Paris, 1680), p. 260, lists as the daughter of N. Cantacuzenus and Theodora, and so as the sister of the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene: "N. CANTACUZENA, uxor CONSTANTINI ACROPOLITAE, Magni Logothetae, filii Georgii Acropolitae Magni perinde Logothetae ...". So also I. C. Filitti, *Notice sur les Cantacuzène du XI^e au XVII^e siècles* (Bucharest, 1936), p. 5; A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen* (Munich, 1938), no. 26, p. 17. But see Pachymeres, I (Bonn), pp. 495, line 14-496, line 4: τοῦτο ξυνέβη καὶ ἄλλοις πλείστοις, ξυμβεβήκει δὲ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Ἀκροπολίτῃ καὶ τῷ Θεοδώρῳ Μουζάλωνι, ὧν τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου λαβὼν ἀνῆγε παιδεύων καὶ οἰκεῖον ἀποκαθίστα ἐς ὅτι μάλιστα, τὸν δὲ ἐκ στρατιωτικῆς μοίρας ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐνδoύς ἐνσχολάσαι λογοθέτην τῶν γενικῶν ἐτίμα, συλεύξας εἰς γυναικὰ οἱ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ μεσίτῃ τῶν κοινῶν ἐχρᾶτο.

The "Cantacuzena" in question cannot in any case be the sister of the future Emperor John VI. She must belong to the previous generation. On Theodore Mouzalon, her husband, who died in 1294, see V. Laurent, in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X, 2, pp. 2581-4, and in *Echos d'Orient*, XXV (1926), pp. 318, 319; J. Verpeaux, "Notes chronologiques sur les livres II et III du de Andronico Palaeologo de Georges Pachymère," *Revue des études byzan-*

Further prosopographical information is provided by the speech which Constantine composed to celebrate the restoration of the monastery of the Anastasis in Constantinople.¹³ This monastery, reputed to have been first built by Constantine and Helena and repaired over the centuries by various emperors, had fallen into a state of almost complete ruin during the "Italian" occupation of Constantinople between the years 1204 and 1261. While Constantine Akropolites was still a child his father had undertaken to reconstruct the church; and Constantine himself, as "the first-born of his father's sons," felt it his duty to contribute and to cooperate in this pious work, even though his father had spent a great part of his expected inheritance upon it. He became in effect the *kliitor*, or founder, of the monastery which, at the time when he was writing, had been rebuilt around the church. When his wife died he laid her body to rest within its walls; and the oratory dedicated to St. Lazaros was erected at his expense. This interesting document concludes with a form of *typikon* of the monastery of the Anastasis in which it is prescribed, among other regulations, that on the fifth day of the week the name of St. Lazaros should be commemorated; and that on the seventh and last day of the week prayers should be offered for Constantine's late mother Eudokia, for himself, and for his wife Maria. Constantine's wife may therefore be designated as Maria Komnene Tornikina, and his mother, the wife of George Akropolites, as Eudokia.¹⁴

tines, XVII (1959), pp. 168–70; *id.*, *Nicéphore Choumnos homme d'état et humaniste byzantin* (Paris, 1959), pp. 35–40; I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia, III [Brussels, 1962]), pp. 7, note 1; 147, note 5; 148; 159–60.

¹³ Λόγος &c., ed. by H. Delehaye, *Analecta Bollandiana*, LI (1933), pp. 279–84.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 282. The history of the monastery of the Anastasis or Resurrection, which cannot apparently be traced further back than the twelfth century, is given by R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I, iii. *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), pp. 24–6. See also the title page of Cod. Vat. gr. 163 of the *History* of George Akropolites, ed. by A. Heisenberg, I, pp. vi and 3. The monastery of the Theometor on Mount Galesion, founded by St. Lazaros in the eleventh century, was

It is possible that Maria was an otherwise unknown daughter of the John Tornikes, Dux of the Thrakesion Theme in 1258 and later *sebastokrator*, to whom George Akropolites addressed a letter.¹⁵ The more celebrated *sebastokrator*, Constantine Tornikes, prefect of the City in Constantinople in 1264 and governor of Thessalonike until 1267, is known to have had two daughters. The first married the Despot John Palaiologos, brother of the Emperor Michael VIII. The second married John Doukas, son of the Despot Michael II of Epiros, and is described as "Tornikina Komnene Raoul(aina)" in an epitaph which Manuel Philes composed on the death of her daughter Helena.¹⁶

The parentage of Constantine's wife remains to be determined, but the literary testimony for her name and lineage is

united with the monastery of the Anastasis by chrysobull of Andronikos II (drafted by Nikephoros Choumnos): text in J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II (Paris, 1830), pp. 77–84; F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi* (Vienna, 1860–90), V, pp. 264–7; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten*, IV, no. 2085. There was a monastery of the Saviour called τοῦ Ἀκροπόλτου in Mesembria; the documents establishing and confirming its patriarchal status are in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, I, pp. 502–3 (dated April 1369); II, pp. 37, 152–3; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, I (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 470–1 (*prostagma* of 1379, wrongly attributed to John VI Cantacuzene). Cf. P. Mutačičev, "Km istorijata na Mesemvrijskite Monastiri," *Sbornik v čest' na V. N. Zlatarski* (Sofia, 1925), pp. 167–74; I. Velkov, "La basilique de la mer à Mésemvrie," *L'Art byzantin chez les Slaves. Les Balkans* (= *Orient et Byzance*, IV [Paris, 1930]), p. 77.

¹⁵ For John Tornikes, see Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, IV, pp. 73–4; Akropolites, ed. by Heisenberg, II, pp. xx and 67–9. Cf. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVII (1927), p. 309 and note 6.

¹⁶ For Constantine Tornikes, see Nikephoros Gregoras, I (Bonn), p. 79; Pachymeres, I (Bonn), pp. 108, 226, 243, 485, 487; F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), N. 34; *Actes de Zographou*, ed. by W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korabiev, *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, XIII, Prilozhenie (1907), nos. VI and VII, pp. 16–18, 19–24. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, ed. by E. Miller, I (Paris, 1855), no. LXXIX, p. 253, l. 15f.; cf. no. CCLI, pp. 448–9; *Carmina inedita*, ed. by Ae. Martini (Naples, 1900), no. 91, pp. 128–30.

handsomely confirmed by an icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria, formerly in the Troice-Sergiev Lavra and now in the Tretjakov Gallery in Moscow.¹⁷ In the lower corners of the intricately carved silver cover and frame surrounding this picture of the Virgin and Child are to be seen the figures of the donors (figs. 1, 2, 3). On the left, bearded and wearing the headgear and robes of his office, stands: ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Ἀκροπολίτης. On the right stands: Μαρία Κομνηνὴ Τορνικίνα ἡ Ἀκροπολίτισσα.

N. Kondakov, who first published reproductions of these portraits in 1906, commented on the discrepancy between the statement of Ch. Du Cange that Constantine Akropolites married a "Cantacuzena" and the evident fact that the portrait of Constantine's wife on this icon bears the names Maria Komnene Tornikina. He was led to venture the opinion that Du Cange had erred, but with the literary and historical evidence available to him, he was unable to press the matter further and contented himself with a brief lament on the difficulty of disentangling the ramifications of late Byzantine genealogies. It is now clear, however, that his opinion was right and that the donors here portrayed are Constantine Akropolites and his wife Maria. The occasion of their donation remains open to conjecture.¹⁸

In his second *Testament* Constantine speaks of his children and grandchildren in

¹⁷ V. I. Antonova and N. E. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi XI—načala XVIII veka* (Gosudarstvennaja Tretjakovskaja Gallereja), II (Moscow, 1963), no. 221, pp. 262–3 and pl. 172.

¹⁸ N. P. Kondakov, *Izobraženija Russkoj Knjažeskoj Sem'i v miniatjurach XI veka* (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 80–4, pls. 10 and 11 (details of the portraits of Constantine and Maria); *id.*, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, II (Petrograd, 1915), pp. 201–3 and pl. 93. Icons with silver covers and frames of strikingly similar design exist in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. See F. Dölger, *Mönchsländ Athos* (Munich, 1945), nos. 78 and 79, pp. 146–7, 148–9 (the latter bears the name of Andronikos [II] Palaiologos). Cf. also the silverwork on an icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria formerly belonging to the monastery of the Panagia of Soumela near Trebizond. Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Trebizond, 'H Ἐκκλησία Τραπεζούντος (= Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου, IV and V [1936], pp. 481–2 and pls. 68, 69.

the plural.¹⁹ His unnamed son died prematurely in 1295. His grandchildren must therefore have been the offspring either of his first daughter (Theodora ?), who was the wife of Alexios Philanthropenos, or of his second daughter, who married a son of the reigning Emperor of Trebizond. In his Sermon on the Blessed Martyr Theodosia, Constantine recounts a miracle brought about by the Saint's intervention in the case of one of his own relatives. The relative is defined as "my son-in-law of noble and illustrious (descent), a nephew of the present pious Emperor [Andronikos II] and a son of the [present] legitimate successor to the Empire of Kolchis [Trebizond] through his parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents; for the daughter of the late Emperor [Michael VIII] was joined to him in matrimony and became the mother of this (my son-in-law)." ²⁰

Eudokia, the third daughter of the Emperor Michael VIII, is known to have married John II Komnenos, Emperor of Trebizond, in 1282. Constantine's father, George Akropolites, had some interest in the affair, having been sent on a fruitless mission to Trebizond by Michael VIII in 1281 to try to make arrangements for the wedding. John II reigned with some brief interruptions from 1280 until his death on 16 August 1297. Eudokia went home to Constantinople as a widow in June 1298, but returned to Trebizond in 1301 and died there in December of the following year. She had two sons: Alexios, who was born in 1283 and succeeded his father as Emperor of Trebizond, and Michael, who was born about 1285 (he is said to have been fifty-six years old in 1341). Either of these could be correctly described as "a nephew of the present pious Emperor" Andronikos II; and by terms of their deceased father's will Andronikos became their guardian in 1297. It was his hope, for personal

¹⁹ Ἑτέρα Διαθήκη, ed. by M. Treu, Δελτίον &c., IV (1892), p. 50.

²⁰ Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ὁσιομάρτυρα Θεοδοσίαν, ed. by Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXL, cols. 925D–928A: Γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν οὗτος καὶ περιβλέπτων, ἀδελφίδους γὰρ τοῦ νῦν εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλεύοντος, παῖς δὲ τοῦ τῆς Κολχίδος ἀρχὴν ἐκ τε πατέρων, πάππων καὶ ἐπιπάππων κληρωσαμένου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος θυγάτηρ γάμου νόμῳ συναφθεῖσα, μήτηρ τοῦδε γεγένηται.

and political reasons, that the young Alexios II of Trebizond would marry Eirene, the second daughter of his minister Nikephoros Choumnos. But Alexios jumped the gun and deeply offended his uncle by eloping with a lady of his own choice, a Georgian princess, one of the daughters of Béka Jaqeli, ruler of Samtzhké. His younger brother Michael was about thirteen or fourteen years old when he went to Constantinople with his mother Eudokia in 1298.²¹ Unfortunately, the Byzantine historians neglect to record the event of his marriage, but the circumstances strongly suggest that it was he who became the son-in-law of Constantine Akropolites. His only brother had already taken a wife; and it would be quite in keeping with the elaborate dynastic and marital schemes of Andronikos II that, having failed to marry off the daughter of one of his ministers to the Emperor of Trebizond, he should encourage or arrange the marriage of the daughter of his Grand Logothete to that Emperor's brother.²²

It is not clear whether Michael went back to Trebizond with his mother in 1301; but forty years later he was certainly living in Constantinople. For when civil war broke out

²¹ Gregoras, I, pp. 148–9, 202–3; Pachymeres, I (Bonn), pp. 519–24; II, pp. 270–1, 287–9. J. Verpeaux, "Notes prosopographiques sur la famille Choumnos," *Byzantinoslavica*, XX (1959), p. 260; on the somewhat strained relationship between Constantine and Nikephoros Choumnos, see *id.*, *Nicéphore Choumnos*, pp. 40–1. Michael Panaretos, *Chronicle*, ed. by Sp. Lambros, *Neos Hellenomnenon*, IV (1907), pp. 267–9; ed. by O. Lampsides, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παναρέτου περὶ τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν*, Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου XXII (1958) (printed separately as *Ποντικά* Ἔρουν, no. 2 [Athens, 1958], pp. 62–3). J. P. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), pp. 147–8, 158–9; W. Miller, *Trebizond: the Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), pp. 27–33. For Béka Jaqeli (called "Pekai" by Michael Panaretos), ruler of Samtzhké and father-in-law also of the Il-Khan Dmitri II of Tiflis (1299–1301), see W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), pp. 119, 120, 122 and note 2; N. A. Berdzenishvili and others, *Istoriia Gruzii*, I (Tiflis, 1946), p. 283.

²² It would be pleasant to suppose, though perhaps impossible to prove, that the icon of the Hodegetria now in Moscow was a gift of Constantine Akropolites and Maria to John II of Trebizond, on the occasion of their daughter's marriage to his son.

in Trebizond following the death of the Emperor Basil in April 1340, John Cantacuzene, in his capacity as regent for the young John V Palaiologos in Constantinople, inspired a not very happy attempt to place Michael on his father's throne. The attempt was countered by the Dowager Empress Anne of Savoy, who put up Michael's son John as a rival candidate for the Empire of Trebizond. Neither succeeded in maintaining his position, however, and Michael, the son of John II and Eudokia Palaiologina, and the son-in-law of Constantine Akropolites, is last heard of in 1351, living, as he had lived most of his life, in exile in Constantinople.²³

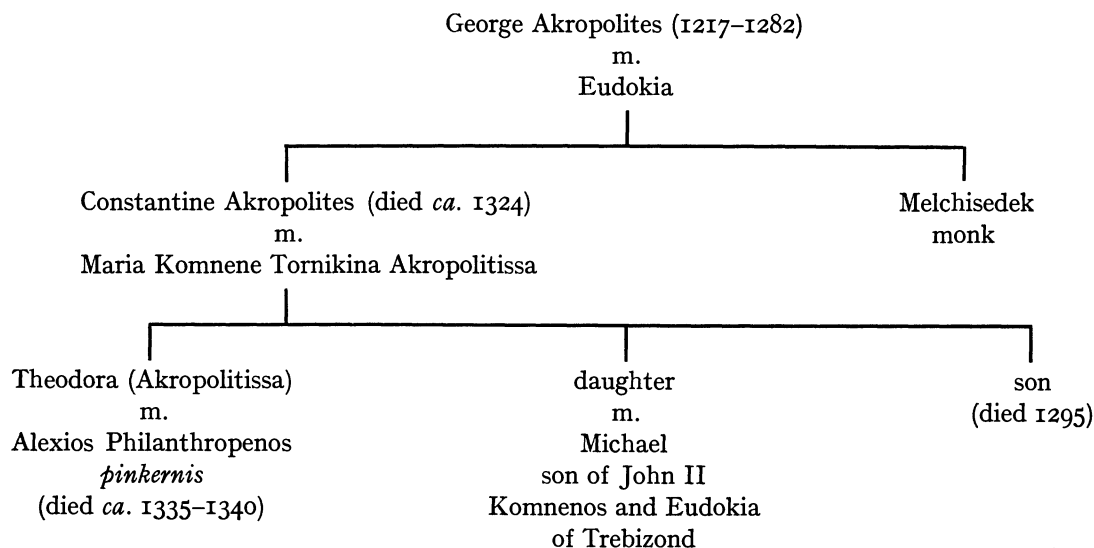
In conclusion, it can be stated that Constantine Akropolites was the elder son of George Akropolites, Grand Logothete, and Eudokia, and the brother of Melchisedek Akropolites the monk. He married Maria Komnene Tornikina, who took from him the name Akropolitissa, and had three children: a son who died in childhood in 1295, and two daughters, one of whom (probably the one called Theodora) married Alexios Philanthropenos the *pinkernis* in 1295, while the other married Michael, son of the Emperor John II Komnenos of Trebizond.²⁴ He was still Grand Logothete in 1321, but he died in or before 1324, for in May–August of that year, in a document concerning the Monastery of the Anastasis of which he was the founder, he is referred to as deceased.²⁵

²³ Michael Panaretos, ed. by Lambros, pp. 276–7; ed. by Lampsides, pp. 68–9. John Lazaropoulos, ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik Istočnikov po istorii Trapezundskoj Imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1897), pp. 134–6. Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–91; Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–56. Michael receives no mention in the fullsome honors list of members of the Komnenos family included in the Epitaph on his brother Alexios II (died 1330), composed by Constantine Loukites (ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, I, pp. 421–9).

²⁴ One would like to know more about the Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa who made over some of her property at Phanari to Maria Palaiologina, Despoina of the Mongols, before 1351. See document of October 1351 in Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, I, pp. 312–17.

²⁵ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, I, pp. 102–4: a report of the hieromonachos Nikandros to the synod in Constantinople about the gift to him three years earlier of some land near the Anastasis Monastery from the then Abbot

THE FAMILY OF CONSTANTINE AKROPOLITES



THE LITERARY WORKS OF CONSTANTINE AKROPOLITES

Following is a list of the writings of Constantine Akropolites, published and unpublished, known to the present writer, who does not claim it to be exhaustive. Immediately below are the abbreviations that have been used:

BHG³ = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. by F. Halkin (*Subsidia Hagiographica Graeca*, 8a [Brussels, 1957]).

Delehay = H. Delehay, "Constantini Acropolitae Hagiographi Byzantini epistularum manipulus," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LI (1933), pp. 263-84.

Ehrhard = A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der Hagiographischen und Homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, I. *Die Überlieferung*, III (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 52, I, II [Leipzig, 1943, 1952]).

Hierosol. Bibl. = A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ιεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη, I-V (St. Petersburg, 1891-1915).

Makarios Tarchaniotes, εἰδήσει καὶ τοῦ κτήτορος ταύτης, τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου ἐκείνου. Nikandros had built a chapel and some kellia on this land which the said Grand Logothete, for reasons best known to himself, had ordered to be demolished.

I. The Published Works

A. *Encomia of Saints*

Athanasios of Atramyttion. Ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 141-7; Ph. Photopoulos, *Νέα Σιών*, XII (1912), pp. 665-72. Cf. *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, p. 122, 16; BHG³, no. 192.

Barbaros. Ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, I (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 405-20. Cf. *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, p. 122, 17; BHG³, no. 220.

Constantine and Helena. Ed. by C. Simonides, 'Ορθόδοξων Ἑλλήνων θεολογικαὶ γραφαὶ τέσσαρες (London, 1853), pp. 1-37; extracts in M. Gedeon, 'Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, XXII (1902), pp. 221-3, 230-3. Cf. *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, p. 121, 22; Ehrhard, pp. 60, 62, 64, 92, 336, 457, 826, 878; BHG³, no. 368.

Demetrios, with two Letters to the Thessalonians. Ed. by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, I, pp. 160-215; cf. pp. 492-3. Cf. BHG³, nos. 540-2.

Eudokimos. Ed. by C. Loparev, *Izvestija russkago archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, XIII (1908), pp. 199-219; and separately as *Žitie sv. Eudokima* (Sofia, 1908), pp. 48-68. Cf. Ehrhard,

- p. 840; BHG³, no. 606; *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, p. 122, 15.
- Gerasimos. Ed. by M. Koikylides, Αἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην λαῦραι Καλαμῶνος καὶ ἁγίου Γερασίμου (Jerusalem, 1902), pp. 27-39. Cf. Delehay, p. 266, 17; BHG³, no. 696.
- John of Damascus. *Acta Sanctorum*, May, II (Paris and Rome, 1866), pp. viii-xxxvi; Migne, PG, CXL, cols. 812-85. Cf. *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, p. 122, 21; Ehrhard, p. 476; BHG³, no. 885.
- Leontios. *Acta Sanctorum*, June, IV (1867), pp. 463-7. Cf. Delehay, p. 265, 8; BHG³, no. 987.
- Theodore Tiron. *Acta Sanctorum*, November, IV (Brussels, 1925), pp. 72-6. Cf. Delehay, p. 265, 6; Ehrhard, p. 822; BHG³, no. 1765n.
- Theodosia of Constantinople. *Acta Sanctorum*, May, VII (1866), pp. 67-82; Migne, PG, CXL, cols. 893-936. Cf. Ehrhard, pp. 292, 336, 967; BHG³, no. 1774.
- Thomais of Lesbos. *Acta Sanctorum*, November, IV (1925), pp. 242-6. Cf. Delehay, p. 265, 9; BHG³, no. 2457.
- B. Other works**
- Speech on the dedication of the restored church of the Anastasis. Ed. by Delehay, Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀνακαίνισιν τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως διαθητικός, *op. cit.*, Appendix, pp. 279-84. Cf. BHG³, App. II, no. 809g.
- Antiphon to the Theotokos. Ed. by M. Treu, Νέος κῶδιξ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου, Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, IV (1892), pp. 42-4.
- Testaments. Ed. by M. Treu, Διαθήκη τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου, *ibid.*, pp. 45-9; Ἑτέρα Διαθήκη, *ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
- Homiletics. Ed. by Ph. Photopoulos, Ἀνέκδοτα (Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου), Νέα Σιών, XI (1911), pp. 862-9; Σύγκρισις ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ νηστείας (pp. 863-4); Θέσις· εἰ κατ' ἀρετὴν βιωτέον (pp. 864-9); *ibid.*, XII (1912), pp. 278-81; Ἐκφρασις τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μεγάλῃν Κυριακῇ (τοῦ Πάσχα) τελετῆς.

- Fables. Ed. by M. Treu, Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου Μῦθοι, Δελτίον etc., III (1891), pp. 445-50.
- Letters. Ed. by M. Treu, Δελτίον etc., III (1891), pp. 450-1 (one letter); *id.*, "Ein Kritiker des Timarion," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I (1892), pp. 361-5 (one letter); Delehay, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-8 (nineteen letters).

II. The Unpublished works

A. Encomia of Saints

- Epicharis. Cf. Delehay, p. 269, 37; BHG³, no. 2124.
- Euphrosyne. Cf. Delehay, p. 266, 12; BHG³, no. 626m.
- Euplos. Cf. Delehay, p. 265, 5; BHG³, no. 630p.
- Floros and Lauros. Cf. Delehay, p. 269, 33; BHG³, no. 666m.
- George. Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*, ed. by A. Ehrhard, *Abhandlungen der königl. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, XXV, 3 (Munich, 1911), pp. 227-31; Delehay, pp. 270-1; Ehrhard, pp. 92, 336, 826; BHG³, no. 684a.
- John the Theologian. Cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη (= Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, XVI, Suppl. [1885]), p. 75, no. 86, 7; Delehay, pp. 270-1; Ehrhard, pp. 225, 292, 336; BHG³, no. 932c.
- John (III) Vatatzes, Emperor. Cf. Delehay, p. 266, 14; BHG³, no. 934c.
- Metrophanes. Cf. P. Heseler, "Das Enkomion auf Metrophanes des Konstantinos Akropolites," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrb.*, XIII (1937), pp. 96-9; Delehay, p. 265, 4; BHG³, no. 1278z.
- Neophytos. Cf. H. Delehay, "Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Barberiniana de Urbe," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIX (1900), pp. 91, 113; Delehay, p. 266, 15; Ehrhard, p. 477; BHG³, no. 1326d.
- Nikephoros. Cf. Delehay, p. 266, 16; BHG³, no. 1334d.
- Oraiozele. Cf. Delehay, pp. 266, 13, 270; BHG³, no. 2180.

- Panteleimon. Cf. Delehay, p. 267, 21; BHG³, no. 1418b.
 Paraskeve. Cf. *Hierosol. Bibl.*, I, p. 122, 14; Delehay, p. 270; BHG³, no. 1420x.
 Photios and Aniketos. Cf. Delehay, p. 268, 32; BHG³, no. 1544f.
 Prokopios. Cf. Delehay, p. 267, 20; BHG³, no. 1582c.
 Sampson. Cf. Delehay, p. 267, 19; BHG³, no. 1615d.
 Theodotos. Cf. Delehay, p. 265, 3; BHG³, no. 1783m.
 Zotikos. Cf. Delehay, p. 264, 1; BHG³, no. 2480.

B. Other works

- Letters. The Codex Ambrosianus H. 81 Sup., fols. 270–333^v, contains 194 letters of Constantine Akropolites, of which nineteen are edited by Delehay, pp. 272–8; cf. p. 269, 34. Letter no. 184 (fol. 331^v) refers to an encomium of the Emperor (Andronikos II) which Constantine composed on some festive occasion.
 Account of a miracle wrought by the icon of Christ called the Antiphonetes. Cf. Delehay, pp. 265–6, 10–11; BHG³, App. II, no. 797f.
 Chronicle. The Codex Vindobonensis Hist. Graec. 99, fols. 15^r–35^r, contains a Chronicle of Roman and Byzantine affairs from Aeneas to A.D. 1260 (or 1261), with notes relating to fourteenth-century emperors added by a later hand. It is entitled: τοῦ ἀκροπολίτου κυροῦ καὶ μεγάλου λογοθέτου. ἐπιτομή ἀρχῆς τῶν ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας καὶ τίνος κατὰγονται καὶ πῶς ῥωμαῖοι ἐκλήθησαν. The beginning and four extracts from this work are printed with a description of the manuscript by A. Heinrich, *Die Chronik des Johannes Sikeliota der Wiener Hofbibliothek. Jahresbericht des K.K. ersten Staats-Gymnasiums in Graz* (Graz, 1892), pp. 10–15. This should probably be ascribed to Constantine Akropolites, though, as Heinrich, *loc. cit.*, p. 10, remarks, the pedantic and unliterary nature of the composition reflects little credit on its author. Cf. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantini-*

schen Litteratur, p. 388; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. by A. Heisenberg, II (Leipzig 1903), p. xxiv; H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I (Vienna, 1961), Codices Historici, 99, 2, p. 107.²⁶
 Rhetorical and minor works. Cf. Delehay, pp. 264, 2; 265, 7; 267, 22, 23; 268, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31; *Hierosol. Bibl.* I, pp. 120–1, 500.

III. Letters addressed to Constantine Akropolites

The following were among Constantine's correspondents:

- Gregory of Cyprus. Four letters, ed. by S. Eustratiades, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, I (1908), nos. 2, 38, 39; V (1910), no. 169. Cf. W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283–1289)* (Brussels-Rome, 1937), nos. 2, 38, 39, 183.
 Nikephoros Choumnos. Four letters, ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova* (Paris, 1844), nos. 79, 80, 81, 83, pp. 97–100, 103–5.
 Theodore Hyrtakenos. One letter, ed. by F. J. G. La Porte-du Theil, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1800), no. 46, p. 13.
 Manuel Moschopoulos. One letter, unpublished, in Cod. Coislin. 341, fols. 305–6. Cf. R. Devreesse, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs*, II. *Le Fonds Coislin* (Paris, 1945), pp. 325–6; Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 546–7.

²⁶ A. Heisenberg, *loc. cit.*, describes the Chronicle as continuing up to the year A.D. 1323, but the last event dated in the manuscript (fol. 35^r) is the recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII in July 6768 (which should read 6769 = 1261), and in the notes added by a later hand the last date recorded is 6849 (= 1341), the year of the death of Andronikos II Palaiologos. I am greatly indebted to Professor I. Ševčenko for much helpful advice in the preparation of this note and more particularly for lending me photographs of the relevant sections of Cod. Vindob. Hist. Graec. 99 and Cod. Ambros. H. 81 Sup.



1. Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery. Icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria



2. Detail of Lower Left Corner of Frame.
Constantine Akropolites



3. Detail of Lower Right Corner of Frame.
Maria Komnene Tornikina Akropolitissa

Moscow, Tretjakov Gallery. Icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria